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toward the excreta. The strongest attitudes of disgust are directed toward the feces, which are regarded as "dirty" and repulsive. 863

The development of childhood is accompanied by a definite change in the care which the infant has been accustomed to receive from its mother. This aspect of the parent-child relationship, whose characteristics will now be described, may be defined as withdrawing from the child his principal source of affective gratification. The pattern is not to be confused with direct rejection; the child continues to be loved passively and cared for in the family. What occurs is an emotional withdrawal of the mother, who in infancy was the chief source of affective stimulation. The mother becomes less responsive to the child's demands, less eager in her attention, more remote and disinterested in her appreciation. Stated positively, the mother becomes more concerned with herself than with the child, or, if there is now a younger sibling, more preoccupied with the infant than with the lap baby. 855 593

If the emotional rejection is correlated with the birth of a sibling it often has its initiation at about eighteen months, when the child is beginning to toddle. However, children often nurse until they are two years old, so that generally the mother does not begin to withdraw in her affective relationship until the youngster is between two and three. The process is both a gradual and an unconsciously motivated one. Its behavioral manifestations are many. For example, the child's crying is no longer responded to with the spontaneous attention that this behavior earned in infancy. "Don't cry for nothing!" the mother sharply scolds, as she continues with her work. Fretting for attention, which begins to appear in the two year old, is less tolerated, and the mother reprimands the child for clinging to her garments or body. For long journeys, children continue to be packed up to four or five years of age but around camp fretful demands to be carried and cuddled go ignored. Stella Wiley was exceedingly passive with two year old Laura. One time Laura was observed to crawl into her mother's lap. Stella accepted the child without any demonstration of interest. On another occasion Laura was clinging to her mother's skirts, whining and crying "mama." Stella continued placidly smoking and talking to her sisters, as though unaware of any distraction. Comfort is often withheld even if the child is hurt or frightened. Four year old Marie Lang had been vaccinated and came out of the mission crying. She ran to her grandmother, Mrs. Man. The latter made no direct effort to comfort her. For a few moments the girl sat quietly alongside the woman. Then she began to cry anew and threw her head into Mrs. Man's lap. Fleetingly the latter put her hand close to the child's head. Then she was distracted and turned to scold a noisy boy who was playing too close. Marie continued to sob loudly but Mrs. Man remained passive and unattentive. 865 [482] 593

Mildred Lang is in many respects one of the warmest women in the community.[38] Waiting for a ride at the Highway crossing her adopted daughter, Ann Wiley, started to fall asleep. She leaned her head on Mildred's arm. The latter shoved the child's head away saying: "Oh, go away you." Ann then leaned her head on a bridge girder and dozed. By the time a child is five or six years old, a clearly defined pattern may be observed in which comfort is no longer sought from the mother. The child has learned to endure pain by itself. Now children are sometimes seen weeping in solitude and sucking the first two or three 866 593

[38] She was warmly regarded by her nephew, Harry Lang, whose care she undertook for many years. See Harry Lang's autobiographical sketch below, pp. 333–333.

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866 593 fingers when unhappy. Withheld emotionality is displayed when an injured child runs to a nearby parent. The usual response of the latter is to scold the youngster for his wild behavior and then to briskly dust his clothes. Any overtures of kindness and affection are readily responded to, however, and girls in particular never lose a responsiveness to caresses and bodily contacts by older siblings and other women.

855 866 593 The father, who has never been as demonstrative as the mother in his affectional handling of the infant, retains some of his more moderate warmth, and we have even observed instances of a father picking up a lap baby whose fretfulness went unnoticed by the mother. Thus when Richard Cross, five, hurt himself while playing he ran to his father, who lifted him and tried to distract him from crying by pointing out a horse across the river, murmuring: "Crying bad animal." Although the man's attention to young children is limited by his economic activities, several instances were noted of children, ranging from four to six, developing close attachments to their fathers, while the mothers were occupied with the care of younger siblings. Under such circumstances fathers often pack youngsters while traveling. Louis Maza once spoke of how, when Eleanor was four years old, he packed her on his back while climbing to the timberline to trap marten. In 1945 Loreen was his constant companion, trailing him all over Lower Post. Generally, however, such close attachment between father and child affords little satisfaction to the boy or girl other than the opportunity to remain in the parent's company. Physical contact between the two is always brief. In some cases dependence of the child on the father is continued into later childhood. [868] While generally it is the boy who, beginning at about seven or eight, occasionally accompanies his father trapping and hunting, often daughters enter this relationship and, in thus carrying on their early emotional attachment to the father, learn skills which are usually expected to be transmitted to sons.

597 855 593 When, as frequently happens, the family through death is deprived of the presence of one or both parents, the process of emotional rejection becomes more severe. Over ten per cent of the children in Kaska society at the time of field work had lost either one or both parents. Emotional withdrawal is particularly strong in the case of adopted children and orphans who, although they may receive physical care from foster parents or grandparents, receive little emotional gratification. One exception to this statement was observed in the behavior of the Cross brothers' mother, who was raising the four year old son of her late daughter. The child was never seen separated from this very old lady who would sit with his head in her lap, murmur to him constantly, and devotedly keep flies and mosquitoes away from his face. This is extremely atypical behavior toward a child of that age.

593 855 Obviously the pattern of family relationships which has been described offers a child little opportunity for exhibitionism. However, sometimes the visits of relatives and friends temporarily transform the family into an audience ready to laugh and applaud the child's behavior. It is interesting to observe the eagerness with which young children from four to six respond to such stimulation. Beyond that age, however, adult interest in children is slight and, as we shall see, when it appears is most often practical and educative.

861 855 If the child continues to live with both parents, the father is ideally regarded as the most important disciplinarian. Usually, however, it is the mother who actually punishes. The ideal aim of punishment is to make the child submissive to, or "scared" of, the parents. Such

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submission is theoretically valued, because it is felt to create an atmosphere in which parents can most effectively direct the development of socially expected behavior. To "please" a child too much is to spoil him and make him "wild like squirrel." Manifestly, few demands are made on the child for the first six or seven years. During this period obligations of obedience are slight. Following these years, the economic role of the girl begins and may be accompanied by somewhat greater regulation of her activities, but for the greater part of the time children of both sexes are left to their own devices.

The Kaska family does not reveal a picture of authoritarianism run riot. There is no tendency to deprecate the child and force his humility in relation to parents. While one or two fathers are tyrannical, the father's role is reduced in importance by the fact that he is often absent from the family hunting and trapping. During such periods the mother assumes control of the household and operates independently—that is, without referring authority back to her husband. There is no evidence that punishment is ever delayed until a father's return to camp. There is also no reason to believe that the mother is laxer than the father in dispensing punishment or that children more readily obey the latter parent.

Scolding, corporal punishment, and threats are the principal techniques employed by parents to maintain discipline. We will consider these forms in sequence. Scolding is employed for minor failures to behave according to parental wishes. Children who play near the river or climb down the cutbank are scolded. Playing in mud and dirt, fighting, nagging, and masturbation are also reprimanded. Any wild or unruly behavior, such as shouting or horsing around, may bring rebukes, especially if the child is a girl. Sharp reprimands to prevent very young children from touching objects like violins or candles also fall in this category of discipline. Watchfulness and scolding are often abandoned if the parent becomes distracted, but sometimes scolding is reinforced by threats of corporal punishment, a mother breaking off a twig or picking up a stick to emphasize her warning. Scolding is closely related to that form of discipline known as "talking to" a child, that is, advising the youngster of socially approved standards of behavior, and, in the case of a girl, may persist until marriage.

Corporal punishment is utilized for more serious offenses or persistent disregard of parental advice. Stealing, childhood sexuality, uncontrollable play, and deliberate disobedience are punished by beating. Corporal punishment is ideally disapproved of for children; "good people," it is said, "don't lick their kids." Manifestly there are indeed a number of people who apparently refrain from using force upon children. On the other hand there are a few men who are widely known for their authoritarianism and for the vehemence with which they inflict corporal punishment. This extreme of behavior is generally disapproved. Most parents go no further than shaking a child or pummeling it with the clenched fist. Generally the upper part of the child's body is beaten. Spanking the buttocks was never observed. Corporal punishment for boys is generally discarded long before puberty. A girl, however, may be beaten by her mother as long as she lives in the family.

A number of threats are used to instill fear in children, with the object of making the latter's behavior conform to the parents' wishes. Children are kept from leaving camp in Lower Post by being warned of the dangers of trucks and horses and, in the winter settlements, are made afraid of vague dangers of the bush, wolves, and the menace of night.

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861 Children who want to play outdoors at night are warned that an owl or other animal will come around and get them. To keep children from wandering off in the bush, threats of the danger of getting lost are frequently employed. Old Man several times warned the ethnographer's son of the danger of wolves. At the same time he deplored his fourteen year old daughter's manifest fear of these animals. To control masturbation and premarital sexuality, children are warned of insanity. Control through threats, except with regard to sexual behavior, is rarely continued beyond childhood. Certain types of discipline are apparently absent. Shame, humiliation, and ridicule are not employed against children. Punishment in public is rare and when it occurs is never done with the aim of public humiliation.

855 Discipline is restricted to the family and is rarely shared by other adults. A man even refrains from disciplining his wife's child by a former husband and a woman maintains a similar reserve toward her husband's previous children. Beyond infancy, a mother often entrusts her children to the care of grandparents and other relatives. Thus when Peter Lang went to Whitehorse, he brought four year old Marie to Mildred Lang's home with the girl's blankets and went off. Mildred was not too pleased with her brother's act, and said that Peter's brother's wife could very well have taken care of the child. The amount of care received in such circumstances is often negligent and little supervision is exercised. More authority is exercised when care is delegated to siblings, older siblings often being firm disciplinarians who do not hesitate to follow scolding with corporal punishment. In general, however, relations between young siblings are close and warm and rarely marked by aggression or hostility.

Unrelated or related adolescents are an important source of attention to young children. Boys from twelve to eighteen often demonstrate a genuine affectionate interest in younger boys and girls, with whom they arrange games and provoke chasing. Lying in a camp, an adolescent boy becomes fair game for youngsters who climb on him and generally exploit his tolerance. Adolescent girls are also affectionate toward younger siblings as well as to unrelated children. Largely, however, this attention depends on the adolescent's momentary disposition and is extremely transitory, the older boy or girl soon tiring of the play or else becoming distracted by other interests. Nevertheless a lifelong warm relationship is developed with these older playmates, especially when they are maternal aunts or uncles who live in close proximity to the growing child.

Two aspects of childhood remaining to be considered are routine bodily care and protection from danger. Beyond infancy, the child receives less systematic bodily care. Washing and clean clothes are often neglected and mealtimes are erratic, particularly when older children in Lower Post venture away from home and play in neighboring camps. An effort is sometimes made to have children of up to nine or ten years of age in bed by ten o'clock, but usually they are allowed to remain up until the parents themselves are ready to retire. Except in the extremely low temperatures of winter, parents show little concern for the child's physical comfort; around camp children are rarely asked if they are hungry or cold, nor is notice taken of wet clothes or moccasins. However, in traveling with a boat or toboggan, bread is kept available for a young child. In winter great caution is exercised to assure the child's adequate protection from the environment.

Protection from danger includes keeping very young children from playing with sharp

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implements, going into the forest alone, leaving the house in cold temperatures, approaching the gunwales of boats, and venturing near river banks or too near a fire. Failure to heed such advice is punished by scolding or with threats tended to inspire fear. As children pass the age of five the river is no longer forbidden as a place to play nor are children prevented from handling scissors, knives, or axes (Plate 10, B). By that age they have learned to be careful of open fires and stoves and limit their activities to the main part of the community or winter settlement, never venturing into the bush alone.

Education. Most education for living is received by the child in the course of performing routine activities. Such education is unformalized and undirected. Our characterization above of the training of dogs reflects some of the features of the child's education. Instruction and direction are rarely explicit. "Do this," is the formula, and the child is left with the task of working out the details of an activity for himself. If the young girl is asked to make a fire and tries to light large pieces of wood without first splitting kindling, the task will be taken over by an adult. The child may then observe the correct sequences for the completion of the activity, but few people trouble to drill these into the learner. Sometimes generalized instructions are furnished to children who, in carrying these out, often become confused. Thus we observed one fourteen year old girl make tea by putting the leaves into cold water. Nobody referred to the muddy quality of the beverage. The same kind of teaching was used with the ethnographer. Activities were illustrated but never explained in detail, the exposition of principles being ignored. On the second day of a journey with dog team and toboggan, the handling of the vehicle was entrusted to the ethnographer without a word of instruction regarding the technique of managing the dogs. Meanwhile the guide walked on ahead, rapidly breaking trail, so that when the traces fouled and the dogs rebelled, he had to retrace almost an eighth of a mile. Another observation that is worthwhile making so far as education is concerned, deals with the relatively narrow range of stimulation available to children, particularly in winter, when youngsters lacking toys are confined to small cabins and rarely interact with parents.

The girl's education is derived from her household duties and begins quite early. From the age of six or seven, she hauls water and packs wood. A few years later she learns to cut and sew moccasins, often practicing with scraps of moosehide; tends the rabbit snares; cuts wood; washes clothes, and helps with simple cooking—all by following the examples of her mother or older sisters and with a minimum of verbal instruction. A young girl may at first rebel at economic chores and seek to shirk them, but by the time she is nine or ten years old the rebellion has almost totally disappeared and she is only anxious to complete her duties quickly so as to have free time available. Boys' education begins somewhat later, at the age of eight. Now they begin to accompany fathers or older brothers on short fishing, hunting, and trapping trips. The boy learns masculine skills by observing older men prepare snowshoe frames, hew lumber, or manufacture implements, vehicles, buildings, and tools. While the boy assists older men in these activities, by collecting firewood and handling tools, his real economic contribution begins much later than the girl's. Not until he is near puberty, does the boy begin to manufacture apparatus on his own or go out to hunt large game with an agemate.

As early as the age of three, a child begins to try using snowshoes. Such learning is

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development of active forms of mastery, affect hunger, institution of the first regressive trends, development of emotional aloofness, and the creation of various projective systems organized to deal with the persistent traumatic effects of this situation. We will now discuss these effects in greater detail.

We have emphasized the importance of good infant care in Kaska society for developing security and encouraging capacities for self-assertion and mastery. Such results are not only derived from social responsiveness to the child's bodily needs but are also built up in the process of inducing affection. The combined effect of these gratifications is to stimulate a congenial view of the world and faith in the self. When affectional stimulation is interrupted by the mother's emotional rejection, the development of the self-assertive aims receives a setback. Although the initial impetus to activity permits a conscious compensatory development of ego striving to continue (this will be discussed below), the removal of the heartening stimuli to such growth leaves ego strength in a precarious position, which in later life leads to narrowing the field of effective participation and strong readiness to succumb to crises with passivity and regression.

Emotional rejection institutes the first regressive trends because it intensifies the memory of infantile omnipotence. The highlighting of a past and more favorable period of adjustment, together with a simultaneous blow to ego development, help institute a chronic dependence that continues to underlie all forms of active mastery. Affect hunger is one feature of this phenomenon. Emotional rejection leaves the Kaska individual unable to form close emotional attachments for two main reasons. In the first place it must be remembered that the expression of love requires inducement; that is, it must be stimulated by the experience of being loved. When such indirect learning is early discontinued, as it is when the three year old is emotionally rejected, the individual is left without sufficient capacity to cathect love objects. He has not been sufficiently prepared for love. Second, emotional responsiveness may be inhibited by serious affectional disappointments encountered in the course of development. The Kaska child meets such disappointment when expected affectional gratification is abruptly withdrawn by the primary source of this reward—the mother. The seriousness of this withdrawal is reflected in the prolonged trauma that characterizes Kaska personality. As a result of that shock, the child becomes afraid ever again to lose his identity in strong love relationships which might once more be destroyed at the individual's expense. Both these factors help to institute emotional aloofness, leading the person to regard with fear all strong love relationships while at the same time he longs for a return to the period when affectional gratification was abundantly available. Realistically, regression is impossible; so the person comes to perceive one avenue of safety in the maintenance of personal inviolability and self-sufficiency. What happens is that emotional rejection secondarily reinforces the earlier patterned egocentric aim of mastery—independence comes to be valued as an active defense. The fact that such an assertive defense system can be patterned testifies to the importance of good infantile care for developing sufficient ego strength to institute such defenses. But emotional rejection also sets the stage for passive receptive techniques, which represent attempted or symbolic regression to the gratifications that were effortlessly available in infancy. Stealing and food leeching in childhood, the earliest ethological expression of this regressive process, originate from the child's awareness that

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his demands will not be adequately fulfilled. Stealing is largely confined to trinkets and food, objects symbolic of love. Food leeching is a means of securing oral indulgence, the mouth having been the organ most intensely associated with infantile gratification and unconsciously remaining a channel for trying to approximate those early rewards. Since children are punished for stealing, the behavior does not often continue into adulthood but its underlying aims continue to operate in the demandingness of the adult and in the high evaluation of generosity. The fact that demandingness is most directly expressed toward the government and whites, suggests that these sources are unconsciously regarded as parental substitutes who have in abundance what the individual needs and so suggest themselves as suitable sources for restoring the balance of frustrated parent-child relations. The statement of Nitla referring to the traders as "Just the same your daddy" is significant in this respect. The conception of authority, or bosses, as sources of protection also equates these concepts with the early parental ideal.

These facts show how closely emotional isolation is related to dependence. In dependence, the search for love is partially affirmed but in emotional aloofness (which, in turn, is related to the motives of egocentricity and utilitarianism) the need for love is denied. "I don't need anybody," the individual seems to say. While intrinsically this is not true, the expression of aloofness is important because of its effects in keeping down passivity and in encouraging the self-assertive motives. The extremes to which emotional aloofness is carried in Kaska society are striking. It leads to the isolation of the individual from all intense social contacts and constantly seeks to guard him against internal and external exciting stimuli which might activate the trauma of emotional rejection. The personality characterized by these trends bears many resemblances to Balinese character structure and certain etiological factors in the two situations are also broadly similar.[88]

The development of a psychoanalytic approach to culture and personality by workers like Roheim, Mead, and Kardiner has stimulated interest in the elucidation of projective systems. Such systems are "the records of traumatic experiences . . . excrescences developed from nuclear traumatic experiences within the growth pattern of the individual."[89] Following such a definition we would expect to find the emotional rejection of the Kaska child reflected in projective systems and this is indeed the case. In order to distinguish between "records of traumatic experiences" and the ethological expressions of all early experiences in the ethos, we are using the term projective systems for the symbolic representation of a patterned traumatic experience (or persons related to such an experience) in the socially patterned behavior and ideas of a society.[90] Such representations may be regarded as the symbolic reenactment of the individual's roles in an early traumatic experience and involves the assumptions that the trauma still persists vividly in the individual's unconscious memory and that he is anxious to assume control over it.[91]

The principal projections of emotional isolation are found in the representations of women in Kaska folktales. We have already alluded to the story, "The Girl Who Turned

[88] See Bateson and Mead, *Balinese Character* (1942); Mead, *Researches in Bali* (1939).
[89] Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 39.
[90] This definition seems implicit in the work of Mead. See Mead, *Researches in Bali* (1939), 24.
[91] See Fenichel, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis* (1945), 120.

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155 Into An Owl," to point out the manner in which this tale served to express Old Man's
X181 personality conflicts. Now we turn to another function of this tale, seeing it as the projection of emotional rejection and a representation of the mother pictured as a deceiver. The story also indicates a certain equivalence between the husband-wife and parent-child relationships. The girl's mother, taking the wife's place, symbolizes the equivalence of the maternal and wifely roles. Unconsciously, husbands are children fed by their mothers. They are dependent on wives as they were dependent on the maternal care in infancy, but in the tale the mother reveals her deceitfulness and must be punished. Similar unconscious ideas may also be at the root of the aggression which men direct against women during intoxication, and also in the rejection of the breasts as erotic stimuli in sexual situations. A similar story of a deceitful wife is found in "The Blind Old Man," in which the man again kills the mother equivalent. In "A Tribe of Women" we see represented a flight from parents and the discovery of new mothers. When the younger brother allows himself to be killed by these women he gives into a regressive wish to be incorporated by the mother and attains his passive goal by being buried in the women's camp. That men should be indicated in these tales as experiencing somewhat greater frustration from emotional rejection than women can perhaps be partly explained in terms of the girl's greater opportunities to repair the wound of rejection. This will be discussed below in connection with identifications and childhood activities.

155 The grizzly bear fantasy may be regarded as another example of a projective system re-
X181 peating the child's terror upon encountering emotional rejection. The mother is here repre-
●835 sented (familiarly, as far as western clinical practice is concerned) in a large and dangerous animal against which the person feels powerless. It is not coincidental that another function of this fantasy is to express the anxiety which girls feel in the face of sexual situations, whose intensity threatens to break down the emotional isolation adopted as a defense against rejection.

155 *Parental attitudes and authority.* Parental authority plays a relatively slight and non-
X181 traumatic role in the Kaska child's life. Attitudes toward toilet training are not severe and
861 sphincter regulation is not seriously expected before the child possesses the capacities for voluntary control. Punishment is rare and generally limited to situations of defaulting while overprotection has no soil in which to grow. There is an absence of authoritarian supervision such as would emphasize the child's humiliation and complete submission to his parents. Native education is also characterized by this lack of authoritarianism; little effort is made to specifically direct the child's assimilation of cultural routines and in a great deal of learning children are left to work out their own answers to problems. In general, the child grows up easily and independently and with a large amount of freedom from supervision and authority. What are the consequences of these patterns for Kaska personality?

155 In the first place, we note that sphincter training is not severe and therefore is not a
X181 situation in which parental disciplines can frustrate the child's capacities. Integrated as it is
863 with other parental attitudes, toilet training is conducive to developing a sense of independence and personal responsibility. The absence of severe discipline or authoritarian attitudes therefore lends to the oedipal situation a flavor of permissiveness. The child's individuality is respected and no sense of blind obedience is ever imposed. Among the most

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159 mained uncertain of her facade. At the time of observation this uncertainty was particularly severe. Her dependence on Lou had been alleviated by the egocentric gratifications derived from promiscuity with soldiers. When the troops began to be withdrawn, she was faced with returning to Lou, whose financial position had worsened and who could no longer compensate her dependence with narcissistic rewards. She now formed a second attachment contemporaneously with her marriage and thereby began to earn a greater share of social disapproval, which more than ever imperiled her facade. The hostility released in the three dreams is derived from the frustration produced by her precarious situation.

NITLA KEAN

Autobiographical Sketch

159 I was born close to Frances Lake. A day and half after I was born, my mother died. So
608 my father gave me to an old lady, Old Metša, who raised me. Many years ago she had come to Frances Lake from the Nelson country. She had lost her husband and only one of her children still lived, Mrs. Susa. So Metša raised me in Frances Lake country. She was an old woman when she took me and didn't have any milk. When I was put to the breast, I was always hungry and cried all the time. They tried to feed me moose milk in a cup. Then pretty
● [855] soon milk came to the old lady. God helped her, I guess. I nursed for about three or four years, and after a while she gave me rabbit brains to eat and fish guts to suck on. That's good for children. When I was about four years old, Metša for the first time bought a case of milk. I never thought about anything. I didn't worry who my father was or what happened to my mother. I thought the old lady was my mother.

159 Metša treated me well. I played many games. With a bow and arrows I killed rabbits
857 and chicken. Every boy does that. Sometimes I had to fight. Some kids were known to be fighters and sometimes a boy like that licked me and hurt me. Then I would fight back to even the score. I never was a good fighter though; I can box pretty well, but that's all. When other kids bothered me, I fought them. Some people's kids were worse than others. They would throw rocks, but that's a dangerous thing to do and when the older folks saw it, they would become angry and beat those kids.

Gee, I wore out many pairs of moccasins and pants when I played around as a kid. I couldn't stop playing. I ran around all day. Just the same I was too frightened to go far from camp. I was scared of everything. A rabbit in a snare used to frighten me. Once I was out with mama, when we saw a trapped rabbit. I ran home and got a stick to knock it out. When I saw a stranger coming to the camp, I got scared; I would sit in the camp and never move. Sometimes, when I played around too much, mama would try to stop me. She even beat me. I didn't like to be beaten, it made me scared of mama. A couple of times my daddy came around but I didn't like him. He was too damned cranky. I wanted to be my own boss. My brother, John, is cranky too. He used to get tough with me. I don't like cranky people. Another thing that scared me as a child was to see grown-up people fighting. Sometimes a husband told his wife to do something and she didn't do it. Then, when the man came home, he would fight her. That made me scared. I used to run away. At Frances Lake I once saw a fellow attack his daughter with a knife. Somebody tried to stop him, but they couldn't. The man swung the knife, but he missed the girl. I ran away crying.

159 When I got into trouble Metša would frighten me to make me sit down and stop play-
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861 taught their girls and the maternal uncles were chief
[604] instructors of boys. Some fathers, however, did considerable teaching of their sons. However, very little serious teaching was done until children reached the age of puberty.

The father, mother, and uncles sometimes lectured the children on behaviour, etc., and gave them information generally in answer to questions. Mythological and other stories were frequently told to children. Children were rarely thrashed and were not
[855] scolded excepting sometimes by the mother; parents were very considerate and lenient to their offspring.
857 Children spent much of their time playing together and amusing themselves as children do in all lands, and little restraint was exercised by their elders. Girls generally played only with girls and boys with boys.

857 They commenced to work at an early age, how-
868 ever, and with increasing years, they played less and worked more. Little girls helped their mothers in many ways by looking after the younger children and doing errands etc. Boys learned shooting, snaring small game and carrying of burdens etc., at a very early age. Little lads of ten and twelve years often accompanied their fathers or uncles on short hunting trips and worked as hard as their ability and strength allowed.
855 Parents were very fond of their children and harsh

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treatment by them was unknown. On the whole their children were docile and obedient. Mothers often sang to their young children (infants to about six years old) and composed songs to them. These songs expressed their love, pity, admiration and solicitude for them and some of them were full of pathos. Some mothers consider they honor their children in the eyes of others by composing songs to them, and exceptional mothers have composed ditties to each child. These songs were also sometimes used as lullabies to soothe and put children to sleep. The airs of these songs are sometimes taken by other people and used for other occasions, and their origin becomes lost.

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The following are customs in connection with children. It was believed the souls or lives of infants were only slightly connected with their bodies and therefore care was exercised that the two did not become detached. Some women when carrying their infants away from the camp or house commenced to call <u>a.nē</u>, "come on", to the baby's soul or spirit the moment they left the camp, and continued to do this the first half mile or so they traveled. This was done in case the child's soul wanted to stay in camp and would not go with the body. Also whenever she crossed water, the mother dropped small bunches of brush in the water and called "come" to the child's spirit. This was done even if

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verbal directions.[26] Separated groups of travelers who had need to communicate with each other did so by means of a limited repertory of smoke signals like these: One smoke, "we have killed game"; two smokes, "come over here"; three or four smokes, "we have had an accident (or trouble)."

Men and women packed goods but characteristically women carried the heavier loads. Only lines were utilized in packing, pack sticks being unknown. Pack lines consisted of four-ply braided babiche line. In supporting a back load the line passed along the outside of the arms below the shoulders and proceeded around the top of the head slightly in front of the vertex. If a heavy load caused pack lines to slip down the arms, a padding of moss was added. Men carried small game by tying one end of a packline around the head and the other around the rear legs of the animal. Fowl were transported in sacks of fine, netted babiche lined with babiche hide. Tanned skin bags up to three feet square held clothing and meat in transport. The colon of an animal, closed at one end by sewing, provided a handy container for small tools. Berries and meat were held for short periods in birch-bark baskets. Dogs rarely packed goods prior to European contact. In the spring a pack dog's feet could be protected from crusted snow by moose-skin dog shoes in which small holes allowed the claws to project. Horses remained unseen until 1898.

In the absence of bark-chair baby carriers a woman transported her infant in a moose-skin bag lined with deep moss, the baby facing away from the mother. The bag hung against the mother's back supported by tanned-skin line. In winter a layer of fur lined the moss bag and insulated the child from the bitter cold. Following infancy children rode pick-a-back fashion on the mother's back, supported with a baby strap that passed around the outside of the woman's arms and was tied under her chin. A shawl of animal pelts, tanned with the hair on, provided protection from low temperature.

Several early travelers have remarked on the casual use of water transportation in the early post-contact period. Thus McConnell reports that the Indians "are very inferior canoemen, and are afraid to venture on the river except in its smoothest places. They seldom ascend the river with canoes, as they prefer to carry their outfits along the shore to tracking a boat against a rapid current, and in descending use small spruce bark canoes which they build in a couple of hours and abandon without much loss."[27] Pike writes, "the Cascas and Liard Indians are poor boatmen, and do not make much use of the waterways, preferring to pack heavy loads through the woods to working a canoe upstream; while, if they wish to run down a river, they can make a bark or skin canoe in a few hours, and lose nothing by throwing it away at the end of the run. The birch on the Upper Liard does not grow to a sufficient size to supply bark suitable for canoes so much used on the lower part of the river."[28]

[26] Among the Chilkat Tlingit there were true cardinal directions that took their names from the winds. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 204.

[27] McConnell, *Report on an Exploration in the Yukon and Mackenzie Basins* (1890), 35D.

[28] Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 81–82. Along the Pelly River this author "often noticed rafts tied upon the banks, evidently used by the Indians for crossing. . . . It is curious that they do not use canoes on such easily navigable streams, but prefer to pack a load on their backs and make a straight course for their hunting-grounds, crossing and recrossing the main stream to cut off a detour" (204).

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

553 the youngster. Instead the choice of a name depended on the whim of the parents. This name was retained until adolescence. Teknonymy was not admitted.[1]

854 For a year and a half or two years the moss bag served for carrying the baby. In
855 this container he could also be hung from the lower branches of a tree and rocked.
[863] Following discontinuance of the baby pack children up to four continued to wear a knee-length dress or coat, a moose-hide diaper lined with moss. Trousers for a boy followed the achievement of cleanliness training. Before verbal instruction in the use of the bush came to be given, toileting habits were inculcated with the aid of a moss-lined bark vessel. In summer a child who had been released from the moss bag slept in a cradle swing. In winter for greater protection against cold he passed the night alongside his mother. Babies received encouragement to crawl but were not allowed to stand erect too early for fear of injuring the limbs. Nobody discouraged finger sucking and the "black dirt" collecting on the surface of the baby's palm was regarded as "baby food." A mother removed a loose milk tooth by pinching it between index finger and thumb. With the tooth she then described a circle on the crown of the child's head, repeating the formula, "Rabbit tooth, rabbit tooth." The rite promoted the rapid duplication of the lost organ. The extracted tooth ended up cached in the split of a dead tree. If it were discarded on the ground future teeth would grow in at wrong
857 places. Young children amused themselves with bull-roarers, the blades of which were often decorated with charcoal or animal blood designs; buzz toys, twirled on rawhide lines, and simple swings. Dolls did not constitute playthings.

861 Kaska parents did not neglect disciplining in the event of a child failing to take
863 over socially approved habits. Discipline ideally attached to the like-sexed parent, although manifestly the mother exerted more authority because she was in constant
867 interaction with the young child. If toilet training did not occur in a reasonable time, a child's hands might be lightly whipped with a willow switch. Disgust for the body wastes was also inculcated. Children of the same sex could urinate and defecate together in the bush but children of opposite sex were early prohibited this degree of intimacy. Lying brought about whipping, while truthfulness won praise for its magical association with future hunting ability. A girl who stole might be hung by the feet and whipped on her legs. Only women witnessed this punishment. A father beat his son for theft. A child of either sex who stole might have an awl point pressed against the fingers or ears. A too aggressive boy received whippings with a length of braided
865 babiche. People felt that a boy who showed early aggressive tendencies would become
864 cowardly when he matured. Children were dissuaded from sex play by parents pointing out how it threatened a boy's hunting prowess and could cause a girl's death. Sexual curiosity met the warning, "Your eyes are going to be blind." A masturbator's hands were whipped with a willow switch.

868 Sex typing received serious attention in late childhood. A youth of 12 began to ac-
882 company his father hunting and so learned to track, ambush, and butcher game and became familiar with the habits of animals. A girl continued to spend much time with her mother, who encouraged feminine pursuits. Girls were dissuaded from playing with

[1] Teknonymy has been reported for the Tlingit. Jones, *Study of the Tlingets of Alaska* (1914), 37.

7: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1947
ND12 Nahane ND12

154
155 approach to problems of adaptation to which traditional solutions cannot be readily applied.

155 A basic anxiety conditioning relatively low resistance to traumatic situa-
854 tions develops primarily from the relationship of the Kaska mother to her
855 child. In the first two years of life the infant receives extremely favorable treatment. The mother responds readily to the baby's discomforts; crying is quickly rewarded, while affection and attention are consistently displayed. Between two and three years of age the mother's behavior undergoes a change. Whether or not another baby is born, the mother becomes emotionally more remote and self-occupied and her relationship to the child becomes one that is best described as emotional rejection. Crying is scolded, and demands for affection to which the child has become accustomed are ignored. It is not unusual to see four- and five-year-old children who have been hurt crying by themselves rather than seeking emotional comfort from a parent or other adult. Thus from a period of affectional demonstrativeness the Kaska mother returns to the pattern of emotional aloofness that is characteristic of most interpersonal relationships within the society. This hiatus in development sets up a number of dynamics in the child's personality but the only one with which we are concerned is a deep-seated anxiety and feeling of insecurity toward the world, leading to an ambivalent attitude toward all intense emotional relationships.[10] This basic anxiety remains with the individual throughout life and is responsible for the inadequate strength of the Kaska ego when confronted by crises.

754 At the time of the witch-fear outbreaks the Kaska found their survival
182 imperiled. This threat came from several sources which have already been
154 mentioned; the influx of strangers had upset the balance of game, new ill-
178 nesses were introduced, and an adequate standard of living was coming to depend heavily upon the intensive trapping of skins to exchange for the white man's foodstuffs. All of these changes presented problems of existence for which traditional solutions were inadequate. Hunting required additional effort and was accompanied by more uncertainty than ever before while the belief in the efficacy of charms, songs for luck, and other hunting ceremonials had disappeared; illness, for which the Kaska were never well equipped, was increasing while native therapeutics, notably the belief in shamanism, had already broken down. Trapping required degrees of foresight, initiative, effort, and long-range planning for which the Indians were (and still are) psychologically unprepared. On the other hand, the rewards of trapping, the most important of which was an adequate supply of food that would reduce the necessity of hunting, were unattainable so long as this ability was not efficiently

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[10] These conclusions are well demonstrated in the Rorschach situation in which the Kaska subject displays an intense fear of the close interpersonal relationship that administration of the test presents to him, a pronounced reluctance to respond to internal and external emotional stimuli (color shock), few movement responses, and deep-seated primary anxiety (shading shock).